

CAMBRIDGESHIRE ASSOCIATION FOR LOCAL HISTORY

Founded 1951



Thomas Clarkson of Wisbech

REVIEW

NEW SERIES NO.16
SEPTEMBER 2007

ISSN 1753-8033

CAMBRIDGESHIRE
LIBRARIES

WITHDRAWN
FROM STOCK

DR ALEX WOOD
CAMBRIDGE ACADEMIC AND SOCIAL REFORMER

Ronald Speirs

(First given as a talk for the University of the Third Age, 2006)

Alex Wood was born in Glasgow in 1879, and came to Emmanuel College Cambridge in 1902; he died in Cambridge in 1950. He is commemorated in the following sites in Cambridge:

Alex Wood House.

He was a founder in 1927 of the *Cambridge Housing Society* and remained on its Committee till his death in 1950. Alex Wood House is a residential home of the Society.

Alex Wood Road in the Arbury Estate.

He was a pioneer in City Council Housing and was Housing Convenor from 1940 to 1950, when the planning of Arbury began.

Alex Wood Hall, Norfolk Street

He was a member of the Labour Party from 1918, (it began in Cambridge in 1912) and he was a Labour City Councillor from 1925. He stood for the University Parliamentary seat and then three times for the City seat in the 1930s. In 1951 the front of the Labour Party HQ was redesigned to commemorate him, and it was named after him.

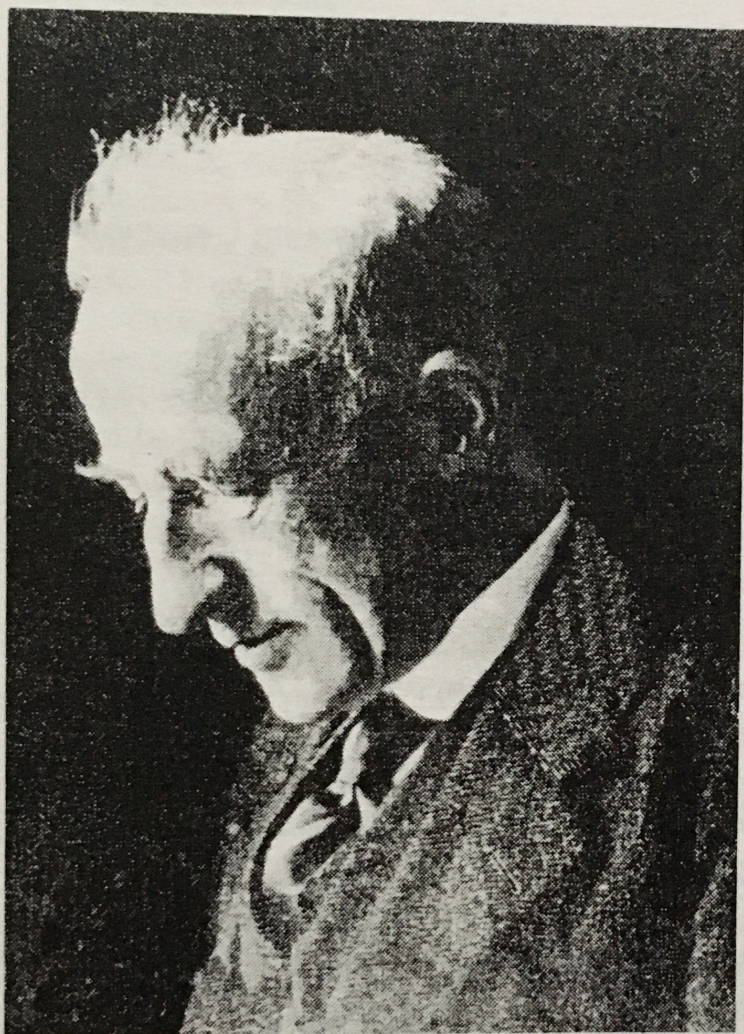
The Bus Shelter in Mill Road opposite the swimming pool.

It was dedicated in his memory in 1951 at an impressive Dedication Ceremony. His wife Nellie sent a message "It was a lovely idea to place the shelter where it is, at a spot he regularly passed, and where he must have seen children and tired mothers waiting in wind and rain for the bus." Alderman Langdon received the shelter into the safe keeping of the City Council and said "And I trust that it may prove to be a haven of rest for those who use it, and I ask all persons to use it with reverence and in the sacred memory of him whose name it bears."

So he was a well-known local character whose memory is perhaps fading. This is an opportunity to remind ourselves of his importance.

My interest in Alex Wood began after I came to be minister of St Columba's Presbyterian Church in Downing Street in 1961. I noticed that there was a commemorative plaque on the wall. In fact it concealed more than it revealed, being almost entirely concerned with the offices he held in the Church and with his academic posts and distinctions. Gradually I heard more of him from the members who revered him for his work as a City councillor and from the

members who disliked him for his socialism and his pacifism. One member told me that she had always to sit between Alex Wood and her husband, especially during the war, because his pacifism and his politics made her husband so angry! Therefore I wanted to find out more about him, I suppose because we both shared an interest in Christian Socialism and in improving the conditions of poorer people; maybe also because we are both Scots from the Glasgow area. I have long regretted that no one has written a biography of him. However, in 1996 his son-in-law, John Bartlett, wrote a 36-page memoir of him for his grand-children and great-grandchildren. He sent a copy to Emmanuel College for the archives and it was there that I found it. It has been of great use to me in putting together this article.



Alex Wood

Alex was born into a middle class prosperous family in the Partick district of Glasgow. His father ran a firm for making weighing machines; it amalgamated with Avery's, and he became general manager of the Scottish business. The family lived in a grand house, 'Woodside.' There were impressive lamps by the entrance, for provosts (or mayors) had lamps installed at their gates to signify their civic role. His father was a staunch conservative and was knighted in 1922 for his public service. He was also an elder of the local congregation of the Church of Scotland: so Alex was brought up in the Church of Scotland and with a strong tradition of civic duty.

Rather surprisingly Alex was sent to the local state school and not to one of the well-known Glasgow independent schools like the Academy. At eighteen he entered the University to read Physical Sciences, and his skill as an experimenter brought him to the attention of Lord Kelvin, the Professor of Natural Philosophy. In 1902 he won an exhibition worth £150 for two years (£150 then is worth about £5500 today - therefore not big money when compared to student loans), and this brought him to Cambridge to be a research student at Emmanuel College working in the Cavendish Laboratory.

His life in Glasgow had two other aspects worth mentioning. He would be aware of the deprivation in the Burgh of Partick. It stretched from the University down to the River Clyde and included very poor areas with pathetic houses contrasting strongly with his father's 'Woodside'; the district also had a high level of destitution and drunkenness.

The second formative aspect was his early interest in debating, both in a private debating society and in the University Union. A report of his maiden speech in a debate with the University of Edinburgh says that it came near the best of the evening: "His wit was most biting....His full clear voice gave all the pleasure of hearing his words". On one occasion he spoke in favour of votes for women, a precursor of his voting for the ordination of women in the Presbyterian Church in the 1920s, and thirty years before women had the same suffrage as men. On another occasion he spoke at the Partick Conservative Association, supporting the view that Socialism is better than Individualism. No record has been found of how badly he must have been defeated! When he arrived in Cambridge he quickly appeared as a Liberal in Union Debates; even as early as 1904 he was one of the main speakers alongside Lloyd George.

It is his political and reforming impact in Cambridge after his arrival in 1902 which I want to describe. But first some comments about the town and its size at the beginning of the last century. In 1900 the university had only 3,000 students; Emmanuel College had 12 fellows and only 170 junior members. (today it has 70 fellows and about 600 students). The City (or town as it was then) had only 38,000 inhabitants, one third of the number today. There is a rent map showing the town in 1904; the lowest rents, under £8 per year (i.e. £315 in current values) were in the poorest areas, St Matthews, St Andrew the Less, St Paul's and St Giles. So by comparison with today the town is a strikingly different place than in 1902 when Alex Wood arrived.

In 1906 Eglantine Jebb, who later established "Save the Children", published an amazing book *Cambridge: A brief Study in Social Questions*. It is a wide-ranging survey of conditions in Cambridge written from a philanthropic and compassionate point of view. She believed that the State should alleviate the evils of destitution by workhouses and relief work, (which in Cambridge took place at the Sewage Works and the Botanic Gardens), while private charity sought their prevention or cure. It's a distinction which Alex Wood found a bit difficult! Here are some quotations to give you a flavour of the book and the conditions it describes:

Acquaint yourself with the life of the poorer citizens; children are being brought up as pitiful caricatures of men and women.

For many Cambridge residents the larger part of Cambridge is practicably non-existent. There are too many unskilled labourers. For the majority of our girls there

are only two courses open, into shops or into service. There is hardly any trade which does not suffer from the alternation of busy and slack times occasioned by terms and vacations.

6% of the work-force is employed in colleges; this excludes women who have casual jobs as bedders. (Here is the daughter of a Jesus college bedder describing her mother's work. "The bedders had hard work looking after 8 sets of rooms on each staircase. They started at 6.30 a.m. to get the undergraduates up and fetch the water for washing. They worked till 11 a.m. and had to go back in the afternoon to wash up and turn the beds down. They had to do all the heavy jobs, carrying coal, cleaning fires and scrubbing stairs.")

There is serious over-crowding. In St Matthews out of 2,500 surveyed over 400 were sleeping 3 or more to a bedroom. In many cases there is shared water supply; out of 634 taps only 266 people had their own; 140 had 5 or more families sharing one tap. One in eight babies died before one year old.

Newmarket Road has one pub every 36 yards; Castle Hill has one every 51 yards. York St and Castle End Missions are commended for their work of every kind among the poor. But St Matthews needs another 30 visitors."

And finally: "Will luxury and love of luxury continue to increase... until it is the recognised habit of good society to pass over to the other side to avoid a suffering neighbour?

When Alex Wood arrived, he at once, and inevitably, joined St Columba's Presbyterian Church in Downing Street, whose congregation had been founded in 1879 when the Test Act had been repealed and dons were no longer required to be members of the Church of England. The founding members were a distinguished bunch, Professor Clerk Maxwell of Cavendish fame (he has a road named after him), Alexander MacAlister, who became vice-chancellor at Glasgow University, John Roxburgh, a lawyer who lived at the corner of Storeys Way where the Cambridge Lodge Hotel now is, and so on. Worship was first held in the Guildhall and the present church was built and opened in 1891, just 10 years before Alex Wood arrived.

Two influential members of St Columba's at this time were Mrs Agnes Lewis and Mrs Margaret Gibson. They were very wealthy twins from Ayrshire, both of them learned in ancient biblical manuscripts and given to journeying on camels across the Sinai Desert to St Catherine's Monastery and such places. They must have terrified the ascetic celibate monks! For their Cambridge home they built *Castlebrae*, which still stands grandly off Chesterton Lane and now contains Clare College students. But they were also concerned about the mission of the Church amongst the poor and they expressed this in the York Street area. Remember the area was one of the poorest parishes. The York Street Mission had begun in 1885, but in 1901 Mrs Lewis and Mrs Gibson bought the hall and put up a substantial two storey building adjacent to it. Missionary work

continued there till 1949 when St Columba's leased it to the Local Education Authority. Only recently have the buildings been demolished to build a new GP practice, appropriately known as Lewis-Gibson House.

Alex Wood volunteered to be a Sunday School teacher at York Street Mission in 1904. In 1914 he was appointed superintendent and he remained in that post till 1944 when he resigned because "his other commitments made it impossible to do justice to the work". He conducted services most Sunday evenings. As well as the specifically Christian programme he brought speakers on all sorts of topics from all over the world, he organised a Boys' Club which soon admitted female members, he set up classes in ambulance/first aid work. It was like a further education centre with something most evenings. To understand the range of activities you have to think of the early 20th century establishment of university settlements like Toynbee Hall in London. There was a widespread impetus then for the privileged members of Oxbridge colleges to set up projects in poor areas and to go and work in them in the vacations. Some were in London and had residential accommodation for the helpers. Others were in Oxford or Cambridge. I recall that my own college in Oxford was running the Balliol Boys Club in St Ebbe's when I was an undergraduate in the 1950s. Alex Wood was unusual among dons in trying to bridge the social gap by organising sailing on the Broads for undergraduates from Emmanuel and young people from York Street, and he and his wife ran Sunday teas for both groups at St Barnabas Road.

Alex Wood had been exposed to the Christian faith all his life; now in York Street he was exposed to the horrible social conditions just outlined, and as a young privileged postgraduate student at Emmanuel he had to put them together. He was not interested in theoretical theology, but what he called "seeking the mind of Christ" and then applying it to every situation, personal, political and social. This seeking was a constant endeavour to be done humbly without implying that others who came to a different conclusion had got it wrong. So he behaved with great courtesy to those who disagreed with him. He believed that his decisions would be vindicated as true by the test of experience. He often lectured to students and others about the supposed conflict between science and faith. He preferred to talk, not of conflict, but of dualism, because he saw science also being the testing of experience against new data to achieve a hypothesis which he saw as a different kind of truth from the truth of the Gospel; for him it also was verifiable, but by the different kind of experience of inner meditational devotion and its outcome in life.

On his 21st birthday he became engaged to Eleanor Mann (Nellie). He could not afford to support her and so the engagement was kept from both sets of parents till the secrecy became intolerable and they were told. Nellie's father was decidedly unenthusiastic because, as we have seen from the size of his

scholarship, Alex did not have a decent income. So their engagement went on for seven years until they were married in Highgate in 1907, the same year as he was appointed to a fellowship at Emmanuel. They used the time for a copious correspondence in which they worked out together what a Christian marriage would look like. Here are some of their conclusions:

Concern for the weaker brother.

This meant identifying with the poor, the homeless and those who had no one to speak for them, and it led to social and political work to improve their lot and their self-confidence. It also meant trying not to behave divisively; for instance he never wore evening dress and he avoided as much as he could dining at high table at Emmanuel. On one famous occasion during the depression of the 1930s he sent the fellows of Emmanuel a letter detailing how many meals an unemployed man could buy for the price of one high table dinner. Some must have found his behaviour provocative, and I'm always surprised how popular and respected he seemed to be when written about in the Emmanuel College records!

Not causing others to stumble.

Nellie was adamantly teetotal, while Alex had been used to some wine in the family home in Glasgow. But they both decided to give up alcohol entirely, and Alex was chairman of the Cambridge Band of Hope for 27 years (1922 to 1949).

Giving hospitality not in expectation of repayment.

They interpreted this to mean that they should not get involved in the high style of the University social scene, but rather entertain students, visiting politicians and the young people from York St. 15 St Barnabas Road was much given to hospitality, but the style was unostentatious and the guests different from those of most dons of the time. For instance, during the Second World War they accommodated two Jewish refugee girls.

Not inflicting damage on others.

Alex's view of the Gospel was that it required him to take a pacifist position. He was never dogmatic about this, though of course it brought all sorts of abuse on him. He always asserted it was his interpretation of the mind of Christ but that other Christians might come to different conclusions.

Now I want to develop where his pacifism and his concern for the poor lead him. The Fellowship of Reconciliation was formed in Cambridge in 1914. It was a Christian pacifist organisation combining all those which already existed in the different denominations. It sought to emphasise the importance of love and justice in all aspects of life, and it believed that war could not further the principle of love. Alex was chairperson of Cambridge FoR nearly all the rest of his life. He was called up in 1916 and applied for exemption on the grounds of conscience. We know how abused "conchies" were in the First War. 16,000 registered for exemption; some were refused and when they did not enlist they were imprisoned: it is recorded that seventy-three of them died of the ill-treatment they received in prison. Alex's exemption depended on his continuing in his Voluntary Aid Detachment work. This linked back to York Street where

he had encouraged First Aid Groups. One of these groups with forty-five men supported the Volunteer Hospital at Wordsworth Grove behind Newnham College, and Alex was made Commandant of the Hospital, which helped wounded service men convalesce. His First Aid Detachment also helped to transport wounded men from the Railway Station to No 1 Eastern General Hospital which was on the site of the University Library. I always find great poignancy in the soldier on the Cambridge War Memorial as he looks towards to railway station from Hills Road. Now I think also of the wounded arriving back at the station in large numbers and being taken to hospital and to convalescence by Alex Wood and the young men from York Street.

I came across an interesting article in the *Cambridge Review* of 1991 about the great suspicions of the Government about what was going on in Cambridge during the war. The *Cambridge Magazine* was established in 1912 by a Magdalene man, Charles Ogden, and he used it for his anti-war opinions. Bertrand Russell was gaoled for encouraging resistance to conscription, and the intelligence services watched the *Cambridge Magazine*. However there is no evidence that Alex Wood was associated with Ogden or Russell. He remained firmly within the orbit of Christian opinion.

His rigorous pacifism continued into the second World War. This time he was involved with the Peace Pledge Union, which was much wider than FoR and included people of varied philosophical positions such as Bertrand Russell, Siegfried Sassoon, Sybil Thorndyke and Eric Gill. He was prevailed upon to become chairperson in 1940 and at once he was in trouble, because the Government took the Executive to court on a charge of "attempting to seduce from their duty persons in His Majesty's Service". This was based on a poster which read "War will cease when men refuse to fight. What are you going to do about it?" The Government case was put by no less than the Attorney General, and the chief magistrate refused to accept the defence that it had been produced two years before the War. However, the defendants were bound over on condition that the poster be withdrawn. And it was.

Hiroshima of course shocked him a great deal, not least because it had originated from the splitting of the atom in the Cavendish Laboratory where he spent most of his working life. In 1948 he broadcast on the BBC a moving talk on the *Church and the Atom Bomb*. There is a copy of what he said, and I quote:

Suffering is an essential feature of the world and human life is always being destroyed by natural causes, often in tragic circumstances. The frightening thing is that with modern scientific weapons the sense of responsibility is so weakened and the imagination so dulled that men do by indirect means what they could never bring themselves to do directly and so make themselves the voluntary agents of

indiscriminate slaughter." (Think not just of atomic bombs but also of long-range missiles as used in Iraq).

We know already from the atom bomb race now on, and from the biological warfare now being prepared, what nature of the next war will be. So far from being an instrument of justice another war would involve victor and vanquished in a common ruin." "The pacifist has no easy alternative to war to offer."

Alex Wood agonized in this broadcast about what was to be done. We are still living with the same uncertainties and possibility of huge destruction some sixty years later. Should Trident be renewed or not ?

The Cambridge Labour Party was formed in 1912 at a joint meeting of trade unionists, Fabians and members of the Independent Labour Party. The first year's accounts show receipts of £16, mostly from affiliation fees from trade unions (the Bricklayers, the Shop Assistants, the Plasterers and so on) and from the University and Town Fabians. The Party contested the 1918 general election; it gained 24% of the vote against a Conservative who believed in "squeezing Germany until the pips squeaked". In 1918 Alex Wood joined the Cambridge Labour party, the University Labour Party and the National Association of Labour Teachers. This move seemed inevitable in view of his concern for the poor and his desire for greater equality in society. The *Presbyterian Messenger* wrote of him: "He became deeply concerned about the relations of the Christian faith to the problems of suffering humanity and this led him to take up a Christian Socialist position". At a political meeting in the Guildhall one speaker said "Dr Wood is in danger of confusing the programme of the Labour Party with the Kingdom of God"; to which he replied: "That's possibly a valid comment - but at least one not likely to be applied to any other party".

His next step must have derived directly from his work in the York Street Mission and his knowledge of the horrible conditions in St Matthew's Ward. He was proposed as candidate for the City Council for that ward. His election platform was about more work for the unemployed, more council housing to be built by direct labour, and affordable rents. He was defeated in 1925, but elected in 1926 and he continued to represent the ward until he died in 1950 - 25 years. So he joined the small band of Labour Councillors. The first three, who were elected in 1919 included Clara Rackham. It is important to realise how unusual it was for a don to be a Labour councillor. He was enormously respected for his integrity and ability to engage in argument without rancour and without making enemies.

It was inevitable that a man of his calibre would be selected as Parliamentary candidate. This happened first of all in 1929 when he stood for the University seat: then three times for the Cambridge seat. In 1931 the Tory majority

against him was 14,000; in 1934 the Tory majority came down to 2000 and he received 41% of the total vote; and in 1935 he received his highest ever vote of 13,000 which again was 41% of the vote. His election manifestos were on collective security, abolition of the arms trade, better treatment for the unemployed and a planned socialist economy. His election manifesto of 1935 echoed his article *Why I am a Socialist* (which is a very compassionate message)

We live in a nation where the inequalities are so flagrant and hideous that no defence of them can be offered. Why do they go on? Because the people who profit by these inequalities control the forces that might destroy the inequalities. Not that they are all selfish - by no means. But they are afraid. They fear that the power and prestige and relative security which they have fought for or inherited may be taken from them, and that if it came to a showdown they might not be able to hold their position on their merits. So they hang on and the word socialism sends shivers down their spines.

On page 2 there is a touching message from Mrs Wood:

I can see no reason why the same ideal should not govern our national life as is found in well-ordered family life, where no one would deprive the smallest one of bread in order to provide big brother with cake.

Some people have lots of cake today! Page 4 has a modern ring : Bigger old age pensions; End the House of Lords; Better conditions of employment; Prosperity for all.

The end of this long period of candidature came in 1943 when he resigned as prospective candidate because he disapproved of Churchill and Attlee not issuing merciful terms for peace for Germany, and because of Churchill and Amery's attitude towards Indian independence. Two years later a Labour MP was elected for the first time ever by 600 votes. If he hadn't resigned his candidature in 1943 he would almost certainly have been the first Labour MP for Cambridge. It is to be wondered how he would have fared at Westminster.

Had he succeeded in entering Parliament he would not have made his great contribution to slum clearance and local affordable rented housing. This is probably his enduring memorial. The crusade began in the 1920s. In 1923 the City Council passed a resolution which read: "The slums of Cambridge are a disgrace and steps should be taken to demolish them". The process seems to have been slow, with only 1,000 council houses (Homes fit for Heroes) being built in the nine years after 1918, and with the waiting list in 1927 standing at 1,200.

However a considerable boost was given by the forming of the Cambridge Housing Association in 1927. Alex Wood was one of the main founders. In 1922 along with others he founded the United Council of Christian Witness, a

pre-cursor of the Council of Churches, and he chaired the committee on Social Questions. It was they who decided the housing question was urgent and in 1927 by loans and gifts they raised enough capital for the Cambridge Housing Association to get under way. Their first houses were built in Green End Road, Hobart Road and French's Road and rented at rates £5 per week (i.e. £140 now) below council rents; and they introduced a subsidy to reduce the rents even further for those with children. Their slogan was "Homes fit to live in, within the reach of the lowest wage earners". Later they tried to adjust their building to those groups with special needs, such as to young couples who had no priority with the Council. Alex Wood was treasurer from the beginning till 1937; then he was chairman till he died. The last letter he ever wrote dealt with CHA business. And of course Alex Wood House is suitably named after him. The Cambridge Housing Association still exists, owning 1,500 houses plus Langdon House and Maitland Court, and providing special care and support to 350 of its tenants.

There was no end to his commitment. Alongside the Chairmanship of the Housing Association, he was elected chairman of the City Housing Committee in 1940. At that time the Council owned 2,400 houses and there were 1,600 people on the waiting list. The Housing Department had a staff of only seven, and the Chairman and members of the Committee were frequently involved in interviewing candidates for council houses. As you can imagine, Alex Wood took this very seriously. Of course new houses were not being built during the War, but in 1943 the Government asked local authorities to start planning for the end of the War. The Cambridge Housing Committee came up with radical plans asking for 5,000 new houses with appropriate community facilities within ten years, but the Government turned this down on financial grounds - they could not produce enough money for land purchase. Alex Wood visited Whitehall several times to plead for more housing resources but without success.

As soon as the war ended 200 homes were quickly built and from then the process gained momentum. In 1947 2,000 new houses were planned in Walpole Road and on both sides of Newmarket Road. Just before Alex Wood died in 1950 the go-ahead for Arbury had been given with 1,300 homes. It is suitable that Alex Wood Road in Arbury is named after him. In the next 30 years the Council stock steadily increased to 13,000 in 1980. Then came the Right to Buy and 5,500 have been sold, so that we are now at a total of 7,500 units of housing with no fewer than 5,000 people on the waiting list: more than at the end of the War. What would Alex Wood say?

Alex was always involved in intense activity. Take the year 1940. In that year he was involved in thirteen different jobs or offices, from Housing Committees to the Presidency of the Scottish Society. But what of his academic work and, more importantly, what of his family? Canon Charles Raven, Master of Christ's

College, said of him that "he would have been a more distinguished academic had it not been for his other interests." But he was no mean scholar.

He wrote several books on accoustics including *The Physical Basis of Music*. His *History of the Cavendish* is only seventy-six pages long, but it is detailed about the professors and the discoveries from its foundation in 1873. He reports that in 1920 Professor Rutherford gave a lecture forecasting the existence of neutrons and the page has a poignant Wood footnote: "This was the innocent beginning of that challenge to civilisation, the atomic bomb."

When he died he left an almost completed biography of Thomas Young, an 18th century Cambridge physicist. He had been putting it together for about 30 years. It is very detailed in describing Young's Dorset childhood and his discoveries about light, as well as his work on the Rosetta Stone. Alex Wood's erudition and versatility are astonishing. Young had a worked out policy about how he should use his time fully. Maybe that was his appeal to Wood!

Nor was he negligent of his college duties. His Emmanuel obituary reads:

"Those who came under his influence as tutor can vouch for his personal interest in his pupilsThey found great friendliness expressed by open invitations to his homeAnd by his attendance at College scientific and musical societies ...And by his sailing parties on the Broads."

By chance an Emmanuel man was present when I gave this lecture and he described such a sailing party and the student gatherings at St Barnabas Road. An ex-student has commented "I think what impressed me was the restful figure in the Emmanuel tie, pedalling so slowly around, when we knew he packed six lives into one". I recently asked a friend of mine who lives in London how he remembered him, and he said "For his warmth and sense of peacefulness - he was a great man."

I get the same impression of his family life. It's all about availability and peacefulness. I have known two of his four daughters and I never heard that he wasn't present for them. There were morning family prayers and regular breakfasts at 8 a.m. and suppers at 7.30 p.m.; and every Saturday afternoon was devoted to family expeditions. Every summer there was a whole month on the Broads. Nellie, his wife did not have a career, though she had trained as a teacher; she saw herself as the spider at the centre of the web and hostess to innumerable visitors. She had indifferent health and yet she outlived him by sixteen years.

It is to be hoped you find him an inspiring figure, if a bit daunting in his commitment and versatility. John Oman, the grand-father of Martin Ballard, the

current Labour country councillor for Coleridge, said of him "When I speak of a Christian I mean a man for whom to see is to act. I have known three such men ... one of them is Alex Wood."

I am grateful to the following:-

The Librarians at Emmanuel College, the Shire Hall Archives and the Cambridgeshire Collection.

Mike Petty, formerly of the Cambridgeshire Collection.

The staff of the Cambridge Housing Association, and the Housing Department of the City Council.

Wood, Mollie 1967. *Alex Wood, a Practising Christian*.

Bartlett, John 1996. *Memoir of Alex Wood written for his grand-children and great grand-children*.

Price, Whigham *The Ladies of Castlebrae*.

Jebb, Eglantine 1906 *Cambridge – a brief Study in Social Questions*.

Cayley, H. 1904. *The Housing of Cambridge*.

Bryan, P. 1999 *The Shaping of the City of Cambridge*.

O'Neill, Philippa. *St. Columba's York St. Mission*.

Durrant, John. *Cambridge Past and Present*.

Thompson, Marie. 1997. *Cambridge Housing Society- a Brief History*.

Cambridge City Labour Party. *75 Years of Socialism in Cambridge 1912-1987*.

Harvey, A.D. 1991 *The Cambridge Review*.

The Cambridge News: various articles and photographs.